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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

(Selections from Study and Criticism)

Ch'en Po-ta's Entire Life of Revering Confucius and Opposing Communism - by Ch'eng Kao 1

The Wishes of the 460,000 People - Report of an investigation into the formulation and implementation of a long-range program in Chiating hsien 9

The 1974-1980 Agricultural Development Program of Chiating Hsien (Revised Draft) 19

On Li Ssu - by Wang Shao-p'u and Li Ch'ang-ch'ing 30

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Ch'en Po-ta's Entire Life of Revering Confucius and Opposing Communism

by

Ch'eng Kao (程皋)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an [Study and Criticism], No. 9, Sept. 20, 1974)

Ch'en Po-ta, the Kuomintang anti-communist element, Trotskyite, renegade, special agent and revisionist, is a worshipper of Confucius. Talking about the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius at all times, he is also a character reeking with the smell of a slavish comprador. Looking for persons of the same breed, Wang Ming, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao inevitably sought out "sinister scholars" like Ch'en Po-ta in promoting the opportunist line. On the other hand, Ch'en Po-ta also relied on the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and the staple of the Western bourgeoisie such as freedom, equality and fraternity to seek profit by hook or by crook everywhere, thus becoming an out-and-out political gambler. Studying Ch'en Po-ta will help us understand how the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius have served the opportunist line and thus understand that in criticizing the opportunist line, it is necessary to deepen criticism of the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius.

When Ch'en Po-ta began his political career, he emerged as a devoted disciple of Confucius and Mencius. He was born in a declining feudal and bureaucratic family--a so-called "literary family for four generations." In this family there emerged some Confucian disciples like Fan Chin and Ma Erh. In such a "literary family," he received a profound indoctrination in the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. As early as 1924 when he was a young man of about 20, he wrote a sinister article, "Primary Will," praising Confucius and Mencius. He lauded them as "the world's great men." He said: "Confucius and Mencius advocated love and justice, although they may be considered to be unrealistic." He said that the actions of Confucius and Mencius are unchangeable "like the sun and moon in the sky and the rivers flowing across the land. The seas may become dry, but one's determination must not wane and one's will must not change. The actions of Confucius and Mencius are more vigorous than a strong tide in the Chientang River and are more gallant than the peaks of the Kunlun Mountains." After praising Confucius and Mencius to the skies, Ch'en Po-ta then expressed his own opinion, saying: "Since we are born as members of mankind, there is no reason why we cannot become 'great men'." He is really a "little commoner but a big careerist"! Ch'en Po-ta's "Primary Will" was to become a devoted disciple of Confucius and Mencius and become a "sage" and a "great man" like Confucius and Mencius. No wonder he always babbled about being a "sage" and a "genius" and acted like an old schoolmaster. He wanted to be Confucius the second a long time ago!

The thinking in worshipping Confucius and restoring the old is always followed by political reaction. Being ruthlessly ambitious, Ch'en Po-ta never wanted to remain a "little commoner" forever. Taking advantage

of every opportunity, he tried his best to climb upward. Not long after he wrote articles in praise of Confucius such as "Primary Will," he joined the Kuomintang and became a member of the rightists in the Kuomintang. He vigorously wrote anti-communist articles and maliciously vilified the Communist Party as a "monster" and a group of "muddle-headed men who blindly talk nonsense, place themselves in a hopeless position, and who have lost their bearings." Ch'en Po-ta's various reactionary hullabaloos at that time were not new creations, because he was not yet an important person even among the Kuomintang rightists. He was merely tailing after Hu Shih and Chiang Kai-shek, parroting whatever they said and making noise so as to curry favor with Chiang Kai-shek and his ilk and to realize his ambition of climbing upward.

In 1927, this Kuomintang anti-communist element, Ch'en Po-ta, all of a sudden transformed himself into another person and sneaked into the Communist Party. Bringing along with him filthy things such as the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, he wormed his way into the revolutionary ranks. However, he persistently upheld his reactionary stand. Therefore, although he paid vigorous lip service to Marxism, he was unable to hide his true features. Whenever he had an opportunity he always tried to peddle his rotten stuff and to make use of the reactionary things he promoted to transform the Party and China. This was why he had to "sit on the fence," and was totally incompatible with the Party while becoming good friends at first sight and closely coordinating with the chieftains of opportunist lines within the Party.

This "talented theorist" Ch'en Po-ta emerged and was given important assignments during the period when Wang Ming was promoting the Right opportunist line. At that time, Japanese imperialism was launching massive incursion, and China was confronted with a crisis of national destruction and genocide. In face of the Japanese imperialist aggressors, the great leader Chairman Mao formulated for our Party a correct line of setting up an anti-Japanese national united front. However, Chiang Kai-shek, the political representative of big landlords and bourgeoisie who had carved out his career by opposing communism, called forth the soul of Confucius in a vain attempt to use the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to dampen the revolutionary fighting spirit of the Chinese people and carry out his line of capitulationism and national betrayal aimed at "passively fighting the war against Japan while actively opposing communism." He vigorously advocated worshipping Confucius and restoring the old. He ranted: "To uproot communism, it is necessary to promote the original virtues and raise one's knowledge and ability, or otherwise we will be unable to eliminate erroneous views and pursue the just cause." At that time, the renegade Wang Ming also jumped from the ultra-"Left" to the ultra-Right. He opposed communism and surrendered to the enemy. Catering to Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary political needs, he frenziedly preached the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and vigorously promoted the "four ethical principles and eight cardinal virtues" of Confucius and Mencius as peddled by Chiang Kai-shek. Wang Ming ranted about "loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, love, propriety, righteousness, modesty and a sense of shame" as "outstanding traditions of the Chinese

nation." He clamored that the Communist Party must inherit the "theories of Confucius and Mencius" and that both the Kuomintang and the Communist Party "are descendants and offspring of the Yellow Emperor" and "are the amalgamation of outstanding progressive young people" of China. On the excuse of setting up the anti-Japanese national united front, he completely negated the principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands advocated by the Communist Party. He put forward slogans of class capitulation, such as "Everything through the united front" and "Everything subordinated to the united front," and promoted a Right capitulationist line. While the voices of worshipping Confucius and national betrayal were loud, political gambler Ch'en Po-ta, whose head was filled with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and who learned well from Confucius' "waiting for the best price to sell," hurriedly came into the open and dished out the Right capitulationist slogan of forming a "philosophical mobilization for national defense." He called for vigorous efforts to "form a grand alliance for national salvation and democracy in the field of philosophy" "irrespective of distinctions or classes" and to "launch a large-scale new enlightenment movement." At the same time, closely coordinating with Chiang Kai-shek in promoting the so-called fascist New Life Movement, he dished out the sinister book "The Creation of a New Philosophy of Life," thus doing a big favor for Chiang Kai-shek's line of opposing communism and betraying the nation and Wang Ming's Right opportunist line. Ch'en Po-ta thus had distinguished himself, raised his prestige, and began to pose as the "talented theorist."

Henceforth, whenever he opened his mouth or wrote articles he always babbled about "new creations," the "enlightenment movement," "stimulating the wisdom of the people" and so on. In Ch'en Po-ta's mind, the broad masses of people in China are ignorant "rabble," and only the "100 percent Bolshevik" Wang Ming and himself, the "talented theorist" who wanted to become Confucius the second even in his dreams, could save the nation from destruction. However, when we open the sinister books written by Ch'en Po-ta, we can clearly see in his so-called "Philosophy of National Defense"and "The Creation of a New Philosophy of Life" that he preached nothing but the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and the rotten stuff of the Western bourgeoisie about freedom, equality and fraternity. Ch'en Po-ta clamored that "the fruits of new culture" were "created" by "our sages." He said that the sages in ancient times "cherished our motherland the most and personally participated in pursuing the cause of national salvation. They encountered countless sufferings and often gave their lives without regret." "The Chinese nation had such great sages in the field of culture that they not only added luster to the vast land of our motherland, but also constituted an important factor in perpetuating the existence of the Chinese nation." He even said that Confucius' "old patriotic thinking still has its own significance in today's patriotic movement." During the raging War of Resistance Against Japan, Ch'en Po-ta had so praised Confucius and Mencius as to ask people to venerate Wang Ming, Chiang Kai-shek and himself, the initiator of the "new enlightenment movement," as "great men" like Confucius and Mencius. Besides, Ch'en Po-ta also exerted special efforts in listing

the Kuomintang "distinguished persons of the Party and nation" such as Wu Chih-hui and Tai Chi-t'ao, Trotskyite writer T'ao Hsi-sheng, big traitor Ch'en Kung-po, slavish comprador Hu Shih and others as the "soul of the nation" and "great teachers of enlightenment." He said that only by relying on these people to "stimulate the wisdom of the people" would it be possible for us to "arouse the deaf and the blind," "awaken the 400 million compatriots to rise in defense of our motherland in great danger" and win the victory in the War of Resistance.

Were these people really the so-called "soul of the nation"? This is sheer nonsense! The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius are doctrines of national betrayal. Promoters of Confucianism are without exception renegades who sell out the nation. History substantiates that this group of promoters of Confucianism of the present era praised by Ch'en Po-ta, including Ch'en himself, are a handful of national scum. They sold out the soul of the Chinese people and worshipped the Japanese fascist "Yameto spirit" in a vain attempt to use the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to stop the wheel of history. Ch'en Po-ta wanted our Party to "do away with close-doorism," in effect, to give up the principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands in the anti-Japanese national united front, to follow Chiang Kai-shek in promoting the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, to preach the freedom, equality and fraternity of the Western bourgeoisie, and to surrender ourselves to Japanese imperialism together with Chiang Kai-shek.

In order to achieve this purpose, Ch'en Po-ta also closely coordinated with the counter-revolutionary hullabaloo of the Kuomintang diehards about "rolling up" communism and "putting aside" Marxism, and clamored about "rejecting outside authority in the field of ideology." He ranted: "In the field of ideology, we should be independent of outside authority. All outside shackles (material shackles) in the field of ideology should not exist." Did Ch'en Po-ta really want to reject all "outside authorities in the realm of ideology"? There is no such thing. What he wanted to reject was Marxism-Leninism. As for imperialist aggression, he not only did not want to reject it, but exerted great efforts to shower flattering praise upon it. In a sinister book "On T'an Ssu-t'ung" written as early as 1933 he had vigorously advocated that imperialist "aggression has merit," alleging that imperialist aggression made it possible for China "to be liberated from a state of obstinacy and deadly silence." In 1939,in his book "The Creation of a New Philosophy of Life" he once again trumpeted that "having bathed in the European wind and American rain and continuing to develop its ancient and medieval civilization alongside that of the West, the Orient has once again become advanced." Is it not a little strange that Ch'en Po-ta, a disciple of Confucius and Mencius and a "true preserver of the national heritage," should have gone to such lengths to extol imperialist aggression? No, not at all. Reverence of Confucius inevitably leads to national betrayal. In mordern times the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and imperialism have become devoted brothers and formed a reactionary cultural alliance. In "On New Democracy," our great leader Chairman Mao summed up the historical experience of the

struggle on the political and ideological front since "May 4," incisively pointing out: "There is in China an imperialist culture which is a reflection of imperialist rule, or partial rule, in the political and economic fields. This culture is fostered not only by the cultural organizations run directly by the imperialists in China but also by a number of Chinese who have lost all sense of shame. Into this category falls all culture embodying a slave ideology. China also has a semi-feudal culture which reflects her semi-feudal politics and economy, and whose exponents include all those who advocate the worship of Confucius, the study of Confucian canon, the old ethical code and the old ideas in opposition to the new culture and new ideas. Imperialist culture and semi-feudal culture are devoted brothers and have formed a reactionary cultural alliance against China's new culture. This kind of reactionary culture serves the imperialists and the feudal class and must be swept away." Here Chairman Mao soundly lashed out at all worshippers of Confucius inside and outside the Party, and his views represented a most incisive criticism of Wang Ming, Ch'en Po-ta and other modern Confucianists of their ilk. In advocating the so-called "philosophy of national defense" and "new enlightenment movement," Ch'en Po-ta advocates using the imperialist culture and the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to oppose China's new culture and the adoption of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought as the guiding thought of the Chinese people. Thus Ch'en Po-ta's "philosophy of national defense" can be seen to represent the philosophy of the Kuomintang and the philosophy of Confucius and Mencius, directly serving Wang Ming's Right opportunist line and Chiang Kai-shek's line of national betrayal and surrender.

A political gambler engaged in speculation and profiteering never fails in his practice of entering the service of someone one day and then going over completely to another the next day. He will place his stake for anyone he thinks he can profit from. The collusion between Ch'en Po-ta and P'eng Te-huai, another ringleader of the opportunist line within the Party, is a case in point. "A meeting of two does not necessarily have to be a reunion of old acquaintances." As far back as during the period of the Anti-Japanese War P'eng Te-huai, too, was already loudly raving about the relationship between man and man, alleging that they should "foster mutual love, mutual respect and mutual help," that they should "not do to others what you don't want to be done to you," and that they should "show a high sense of sympathy for others; all this is the spirit of universal love, in other words, the spirit of democracy." Of course, in the advocacy of such Confucian and Mencian doctrines, Ch'en Po-ta had seniority, for this "talented theorist" was trumpeting this line as early as 1939. He clamored that "man has all along regarded 'do not do to others what you don't want to be done to you' as....'the way of loyalty and forbearance' in the loftiest sense. We should go a step further than this, that is, 'do not do to others what others don't want to be done to them'." "In this way we will transform the virtues of the feudal society represented by the Confucian school into the most sublime virtues of mankind. Philosopically speaking, this is precisely the transformation of idealism into materialism." Here P'eng Te-huai and Ch'en Po-ta were staging a duet in support of each other and, walking hand in hand, traveled along Wang Ming's Right opportunist line.

It is out-and-out anti-Marxism for P'eng Te-huai and Ch'en Po-ta to describe the reactionary Confucian dogma "do not do to others what you don't want to be done to you" as the most sublime virtue of mankind. In a class society, what should be the rule between opposing classes, between the exploiting class and the exploited class, is to do to others what you don't want to be done to you. There simply is no such thing as "do not do to others what you don't want to be done to you." The purpose of P'eng Te-huai and Ch'en Po-ta in advocating this Confucian and Mencian stuff during the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan was to give in to Chiang Kai-shek, surrender to Japanese imperialism, and go in for the so-called "mutual assistance between classes" embodied in revisionism. When the country entered the period of socialist revolution, Ch'en and P'eng still resorted to this rubbish in their opposition to the socialist revolution. For instance, at the Lushan Meeting of 1959, Ch'en Po-ta joined P'eng Te-huai's "military club" and once again harped on the old tune "do not do to others what you don't want to be done to you" together with P'eng, and maliciously attacked Chairman Mao's revolutionary line by waving the banner of "pleading for the people." This only further laid bare his true features as a counter-revolutionary.

As for Ch'en Po-ta's efforts to follow Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and actively use the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to serve these two chieftains of bourgeois headquarters in pushing the revisionist lines, this is an even better known fact to all. As far back as in the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Ch'en Po-ta was already working hand in glove with Liu Shao-ch'i in advocating the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and in clamoring for the Wang Ming line. Both Liu Shao-ch'i's sinister book "On Self-Cultivation" and Ch'en Po-ta's "The Creation of a New Philosophy of Life" were dished out in 1939. They are two bitter melons on the sinister vine of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. After the advent of socialist revolution, Ch'en Po-ta closely followed Liu Shao-ch'i and for a long time mapped out plans and strategy for the latter in subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat, restoring capitalism and usurping the supreme power of the Party and State. The 1962 version of the sinister book "On Self-Cultivation" dished out by Liu Shao-ch'i to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius was edited and revised with the enthusiastic help of Ch'en Po-ta.

As for the case of the renegade and traitor Lin Piao, it was an even more "concentrated investment" for Ch'en Po-ta, who followed him very closely. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique's so-called political program that "the State should have a chairman" and the theoretical program represented by the claim of "innate genius" were virtually cooked up with Ch'en Po-ta's participation on the basis of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. It was for this very reason that Lin Piao leaned especially heavily on this "sinister scholar" and "talented theorist" of the Tung Chung-shu type. Working hand in glove, these faithful disciples of Confucius and Mencius imitated Confucius in advocating "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" in a vain attempt to restore capitalism in China. However, just as they were being carried away by their wild dreams and uttering

such "decisive statements" as "who in the world but me can bring the country peace and order," their counter-revolutionary conspiracies were declared totally bankrupt. Lin Piao, who likened himself to the "heavenly horse galloping through the skies," died in a crash at Undur Khan of Mongolia. Ch'en Po-ta has likewise fallen from the counter-revolutionary peak and has become a dog with a broken spine.

The life of Ch'en Po-ta, who followed the various ringleaders of the opportunist lines in worshipping Confucius and opposing communism, should clearly tell us one thing--that the fierce struggle between the two lines within the Party has always existed, whether in the period of the democratic revolution or in the period of the socialist revolution. The Confucian ideology is a battered ideological weapon that has been used by all past declining reactionary ruling classes to oppose revolution and to obstruct the advance of society. In the course of the democratic revolution and then the socialist revolution carried out by the proletariat, the landlord and bourgeois classes have invariably picked up this torn ideological weapon to oppose the proletariat. Such a struggle is inevitably reflected in the Party. In the last five decades or so since the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, there have emerged ringleaders of the opportunist lines such as Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, Wang Ming, P'eng Te-huai, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao who used the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to oppose the proletarian revolution. In the future, as long as classes and class struggle exist, the struggle between the two lines within the Party will continue, as will the struggle to criticize Confucius.

The worshippers of Confucius within the Party are opportunists within the Party. Why do these persons revere this political corpse, Confucius, in the way they do? It is because they are all representatives of the landlord and bourgeois classes within the Party. To restore capitalism, they have to oppose Marxism. What weapon do they use? They can only resort to the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in their opposition to Marxism. This is determined by the fact that, in China, the bourgeoisie is extremely weak both economically and politically and, with regard to ideology and culture, it does not have, nor can it establish, an ideological system which might suffice as a substitute for the feudal culture. The fundamental ideological and theoretical basis for the opportunist lines they push is nothing but the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. It is precisely because of this that we must criticize Confucius when we criticize the opportunist lines and criticize revisionism. Unless we criticize Confucius, we cannot thoroughly criticize the opportunist lines, nor can we dig out the ideological root of the opportunist lines.

Because all ringleaders of the opportunist lines within the Party are worshippers of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, to practice revisionism they have to seek out disciples of Confucius and Mencius to be their "sinister scholars" and "theorists." The reason that Ch'en Po-ta was able to have everything going his way when working with the ringleaders of the opportunist lines in the past, becoming useful to Wang Ming, P'eng

Te-huai, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, is that he has long been a Confucius-worshipping, anti-communist element. It is men of this type that are needed by the ringleaders of the opportunist lines within the Party to serve as their trumpeters in peddling the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in order to create counter-revolutionary public opinion. Likewise, to firmly uphold Marxism and oppose revisionism, we must strengthen the building of Marxist ideology and theory and reinforce the contingent of Marxist theorists. With a massive contingent of Marxist theorists, with a mighty army on the political and ideological front, the proletariat will be able to effectively oppose revisionism, occupy all spheres of the superstructure with Marxism-Leninism, and "exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the realm of the superstructure, including the various spheres of culture." Only in this way can we carry the revolution in the superstructure through to the end.

* * *

The Wishes of the 460,000 People

- Report of an investigation into the formulation and implementation of a long-range program in Chiating hsien

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an [Study and Criticism], No. 9, Sept. 20, 1974)

Under the excellent situation where the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is deepening and the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants are vigorously grasping revolution and stimulating production, Chiating is seething with an upsurge of mass activities to discuss prospects, draw up plans, learn from the advanced, and go all out.

Not long ago, Hung-ch'i and Jen-min Jih-pao separately carried the 1974-1980 Agricultural Development Program of Hsinching brigade, Ant'ing commune, Chiating hsien and a report on its implementation. This greatly inspired the poor and lower-middle peasants and the revolutionary masses throughout the hsien. "This is how Chairman Mao and the Communist Party care for and urge on the poor and lower-middle peasants not only in Hsinching brigade but also across the whole hsien." For days, the wired broadcasting service spread the experience of Hsinching brigade. Spare-time literary and art groups arranged their programs geared to learning from Hsinching. Cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants in a great many communes and brigades have eagerly made study visits to Hsinching brigade. People everywhere are learning from and catching up with Hsinching in every way. They say, "Hearing about Hsinching inspires us. Its program is really good. We need such a plan too. With our conditions comparing favorably with Hsinching's, we surely can do what it has done."

Riding on the strong east wind, the Chiating hsien Party committee called a meeting of cadres at three levels. Taking criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius as the key link and promoting all-round cooperation, it further revised the hsien's 1974-1980 Agricultural Development Program and drew up an implementation plan for 1975. The revised draft was then distributed to all communes, brigades and teams for discussion. The various communes and brigades are also laying their own long-range programs. Today, everywhere in Chiating -- the vast rural areas, enterprises, market towns and even public places and on the bus -- one can hear people talking about their prospects, plans, learning from the advanced and overcoming one's shortcomings. Everyone is highly militant and vigorous in will and spirit. The 460,000 poor and lower-middle peasants and other revolutionary people in Chiating hsien are determined, through setting a long-range program, to conduct a hsien-wide education in ideology and political line in order to whip up revolutionary zeal, push the mass movement to "learn from Tachai in agriculture" toward a new high tide, and with the practical action of persisting in revolution and in progress and building socialism vigorously, criticize Lin Piao's towering crimes of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" in a vain attempt to restore capitalism. They are resolved to accelerate the building of a "Tachai-type" socialist new Chiating.

Expose Contradictions and Learn from the Advanced; Devise Plans and Work Hard

To draw up a long-term program and speed up agricultural development is dictated by the needs of the developing revolutionary situation and by the urgent desires of the broad revolutionary masses. A good long-term program can be drawn up only by stepping up the education in ideology and political line and by continuously inspiring the masses of cadres and people with a lofty ambition to build up a socialist new countryside. Only thus will the program be forward-looking and practical and welcomed by the broad masses.

In conducting an education in ideology and political line, it is necessary first to set straight the thinking of the leadership. Only when this is done will it be possible to lead the masses to advance in step. The agricultural development program formulated by Chiating hsien in 1973 was born out of hsien-wide efforts to expose contradictions, stimulate the transformation of things,and develop the struggle between two ideologies and two lines. Chiating has been a relatively successful hsien in the agricultural field in the suburbs. But for the past few years its output growth was slow, with some areas--such as Malu commune with the hsien's best production conditions--showing no increase in grain output at all, and a drop in cotton output in three consecutive years. The masses were unhappy.

The Municipal Party Committee expressed the hope that they would sum up their experience and boost their farm output. To this end, the hsien Party committee resolved to extensively mobilize the masses to learn from the advanced, look for their own shortcomings, expose contradictions, and promote transformation of things throughout the hsien, with the criticism of Lin Piao and rectification of work style as the key link. They were to discuss ways to increase farm production. In the spring of 1973, the hsien Party committee also conducted an open-door rectification campaign, calling on all people and cadres to make suggestions. Good results were gained. From the masses the hsien Party committee learned that the agricultural flop was only a phenomenon and the root cause rested with the line and leadership. The poor and lower-middle peasants of Chiating had the same urgent desire to bring about a rapid advance of agriculture as their counterparts in Tachai. Several years ago, the poor and lower-middle peasants in many areas had demanded large-scale water conservation construction to change production conditions. But the leadership, being conservative-minded, gave them no support and even criticized some areas for their bold recommendations. The result was to thwart the enthusiasm of the masses. The No. 2 Tengt'a brigade of Chuch'iao commune has been learning from Tachai for nine years. On its lowlying land where in pre-liberation days "crops failed in nine years out of ten," annual per-mow output of grain has often exceeded 2,000 catties. Such an advanced model has not been seriously popularized in the hsien, not even in the commune where the brigade belongs, despite the call to do so. Some communes and brigades gave more attention to sideline occupations than to agriculture. Seriously affected by capitalist

spontaneous tendencies, they wavered in their idea of "taking agriculture as the foundation." Agricultural production suffered adversely, and the masses had a lot to complain of. Yet the leadership did not give the matter serious attention.

These criticisms from the masses greatly jolted the hsien Party committee. They found that over past years the idea of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat had been diluted, explaining the lack of ambition, contentment with the status quo, conservatism, and the repression of mass socialist enthusiasm. As a result, neither high nor stable yields could be attained, with some areas even reporting lower yields than before. Some comrades said emotionally: "Being Communists and Party cadres, we must build not only socialism but also communism. If we are satisfied with a little achievement and forget the great goals of revolution, how can we lead the masses to build communism?" They set themselves the lofty goal to wrought great changes. They decided to learn from the experience of Hsiyang hsien, advance together with the masses, draw up a long-term program, alter the face of the land, and build a "Tachai-type" new Chiating. The cadres and masses of the hsien have said, "Our long-term agricultural development program was born of the exposure of contradictions and the violent struggle between two ideologies and lines." It can be seen that drawing up a long-term program must be viewed as a piece of political work. Only by stepping up the education in ideology and political line will it be possible to persuade the cadres and masses to have the lofty will to build a socialist new countryside and will there be a firm ideological foundation for drawing up the program.

To formulate a program, conduct education in ideology and political line and set our thinking right, we must vigorously promote investigations and study in order to base the program on reality. Chairman Mao says: "The most fundamental method of work which all Communists must firmly bear in mind is to determine their working policy according to actual conditions." When drawing up a long-term program, Chiating hsien seriously changed its style of work, organized investigation teams to work among the masses, and did a large amount of investigation and study work. It also made an elaborate analysis of the data acquired through investigation, and set forth certain important problems of agricultural production in the hsien. Since liberation, for instance, although Chiating had done a lot of work in respect to water conservation with 178 waterways dredged and 1,500 kilometers of irrigation canals built, yet the standard of water conservation construction was still low, and the water systems were not complete with those on small-sized farms in a chaotic state. Much remained to be done before high- and stable-yield fields could come into being. After the three-cropping system was basically introduced, labor supply became tight. Since the great cultural revolution, despite substantial development in agricultural mechanization, failure to make the infrastructure--machinery, roads, bridges and canals--completely discounted the efficiency of farm machines. Moreover, failure to solve the mechanization problems such as deep plowing and deep furrows, pulling and transplanting of seedlings, raking and

harvesting rendered impossible freeing a large amount of labor power and hindered the march on production in depth and breadth. With the introduction of the three-cropping system, the demand for manure has increased enormously. According to a sample investigation of high-yield units, to achieve an annual per-mow grain output of 2,000 catties would require 80-100 tan of organic manure. But only an average of 50-60 tan of organic manure is applied to each mow of land at present. These problems have hampered the further development of agricultural production. At the same time, conditions vary from place to place. On the problem of water, some "have too little water" while others "have too much." Work is uneven too. At present, output in the eastern areas is relatively high while that in the western areas is relatively low. But the western section has much land but a small population, and is the main grain producer for Chiating hsien. Failure to carry out production there would gravely affect the whole situation.

Therefore, when drawing up the plan, the hsien Party committee put the stress on solving these problems and put forward the guiding idea of grasping the advanced to lead the whole area and grasping the western to stimulate the eastern part. As the ideological line was adjusted, actual conditions were taken into account in doing things, and sufficient studies and analyses were made; the lofty proletarian ambition has been integrated with a scientific attitude. Thus, people have a head for figures when drawing up and implementing programs, not only making clear the direction of the main attack but also determining their working policies in accordance with the characteristics of different areas. In this way, a general upsurge in agricultural production can surely be brought about.

Great Changes Brought About by Exemplary Action and Hard Work

What should we do with a hsien-wide long-term program? How are we to implement it? The comrades of Chiating hsien understand the need to develop the revolutionary spirit of the Tachai poor and lower-middle peasants, to take the whole situation into consideration, to have a model, to use a point to lead the area, and to change things in a big way through hard work.

"Vast are the heaven and earth, and we must have a model to learn from." In the past, this hsien did not recognize sufficiently the importance of grasping a model, and its work was generalized. In the spring of 1973, the hsien Party committee carried out an open-door rectification campaign and seriously studied Hsiyang hsien's experience. When studying long-term planning in light of the hsien's actual conditions, it selected three models of different types. One was No. 2 Tengt'a brigade of Chuch'iao commune located in an area producing both grain and cotton. Learning from Tachai for nine years, this brigade has gained a per-mow output of 2,000 catties of grain. Grasping this model would favorably affect the entire area in achieving high and higher yields. The second was Hsinching brigade of Ant'ing commune located in the western rice

growing area. The changed features of this backward western area would stimulate the eastern area to greater efforts. The third was Malu commune credited with developing relatively fast commune- and brigade-run industries. By putting agriculture and industry in their proper places it would be possible to use industry to promote agriculture. After these points were determined, the hsien Party committee set up three investigation teams, which headed by the secretaries of the hsien Party committee and members of its standing committee and composed of office cadres went to stay at these points. Those comrades who went to Hsinching brigade at first gave too much thought to unfavorable factors--the low terrain, abundance of land, labor scarcity, and poor natural conditions. Each laborer tilled an average of over 4 mow of land or 55 percent more than the hsien's average. Annual per-mow output of grain had for many years hovered around 1,000 catties, 300-400 catties less than the hsien's average. Later, investigations gradually revealed the socialist enthusiasm of the local poor and lower-middle peasants generated from the criticism of Lin Piao and the rectification of the style of work. They had strong labor intensity and great zeal. They urgently demanded a change in the backward production features. They said, "The advanced doesn't come from Heaven, nor will the backward forever remain so. Given the correctness of the line and hard work, a backward unit can turn into an advanced one." The revolutionary desire of the vast masses to change the backward features greatly educated the comrades of the investigation team. Together with the brigade Party branch, they joined the local poor and lower-middle peasants in studying the formulation of a long-term program and near-term implementation plans. A test point was established at Kuchia production team, where the main contradiction in production was grasped and water conservation projects were undertaken. That year, the brigade, having grasped the "five changes," turned a portion of its land into gardening, with per-mow output of grain exceeding 1,360 catties. The changes in the outlook of Hsinching brigade created an impact not only on the western areas but on all communes and brigades of the hsien as well. Tremendous changes also had taken place in the other two points. Having strengthened the idea of "taking agriculture as the foundation," Malu commune has increased its per-mow grain output from 1,600 to 1,838 catties.

A model can be an inexhaustible source of strength. Having a model for formulating and implementing plans, it will be possible to gradually realize a hsien-wide program. For the past year or so, the hsien Party committee has given full scope to the roles of the three models--the No. 2 Tengt'a brigade, Hsinching brigade and Malu commune, and has constantly summed up their experiences and presented them to cadres conferences called by the hsien Party committee or to on-the-spot meetings. As a result, units with higher output believed no longer that they had reached the limit in production and strove for still higher output. Units with lower output set ambitious goals. Short of the revolutionary spirit of changing heaven and earth, Chinchialung production team of Kaochia brigade, Fengpin commune had not been successful in changing its features. In the fall of 1973, driven by advanced units, it raised the fighting slogan, "Change the face of the land, draw our

own blueprint to realize garden farming in three years." It drafted a plan for agricultural development. After autumn was gone, displaying the spirit of continuous fighting, it persisted in tending the fields in the daytime and spent the night dredging rivers and filling up streams while braving the cold, vigorously building garden-like fields. Since last winter and spring, the team has turned 47 percent of its fields into garden-like fields, besides digging five large open channels with a total length of over 560 meters and also 700 meters of new trunk canals and building a new waterway 230 meters long. These projects have benefited the team already. This year, its per-mow output of wheat has reached 500 catties, a 90 percent increase over last year, and gross output rose by more than 28,000 catties over last year.

Unless major efforts are made no great changes can be brought about. To change the face of Chiating, the hsien's poor and lower-middle peasants have thrown themselves into water conservation construction with the revolutionary heroism of changing heaven and earth. In 1973, while the Hsinching river was being dredged, many communes and brigades started building their own water works. Huat'ing commune had attempted to dredge the Huangku river three times after the liberation. Due to lack of a long-term plan, it had not been dredged properly. Now, the commune Party committee organized more than 3,000 civilian workers for another attempt. When the project was nearing completion, the tide came. A dam adjacent to the Liu river suddenly collapsed. The cadres and commune members, displaying the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death, plunged into the river. Linking their hands, they used their bodies to block the tidal water. Even when their hands and feet were cut and bruised, they persisted in battling against the tide more than four hours. They said proudly, "Just think of the 25,000-li Long March of the Red Army. Our hardship is really nothing." After 39 days of continuous hard work, they triumphantly completed 104,000 cubic meters of earthwork, with each person removing 3½ cubic meters of earth a day. This set a record. In addition, the land along the dredged river was also levelled and trees were planted on both banks. During last winter and spring, besides the Hsinching river, seven waterways under commune management and 40 waterways under brigade control were dredged, accounting for a total of 2,090,000 cubic meters of earthwork, a 90 percent increase over the preceding year. Further changes have been brought about in respect to farmland water conservation construction across the hsien.

All Trades and Occupations Render Support to Agriculture

If a hsien-wide agricultural development program is to be fulfilled, it is necessary not only to rely on the poor and lower-middle peasants in battling against nature but also to mobilize all trades and occupations to give aid to agriculture, so that a general war can be fought on the basis of self-reliance.

Harnessing the rivers, improving the soil, building canals and bridges, and developing agricultural machinery require funds, materials

and equipment. Some commune members say: "It pleases us to think of the program. But it worries us to think of its fulfillment." Why worry? The department concerned of Chiating hsien had calculated that by 1980, for cement alone, over 30,000 tons would be needed a year, yet the state would only supply 15,000-16,000 tons a year. Other things such as rolled steel, bricks and tiles and timber would be in short supply. What should be done? "Before troops set out, provisions must be prepared." The poor and lower-middle peasants who have done well at the frontline must not be pulled back. At first some comrades had thought: We may as well go to Shanghai to seek some advice. The broad masses, dissenting, believed that Shanghai was supporting the whole country and we must not ask it for help. With Chiating's poor and lower-middle peasants determined to change the face of their land, the revolutionary masses in various other trades and occupations can surely self-reliantly lick their difficulties and contribute toward the realization of the hsien's agricultural development program. So, they proposed: "Let's find material, make our own equipment, raise our own funds, and learn the skill in the course of working." Yet it is no simple task to build a few factories. Take the equipment for a cement plant for example. A ball grinder is 1.83 meters in diameter and 6.126 meters long and weighs 47 tons. A big cogwheel consists of 124 cogs. But the Chiao-chien Machinery Manufacturing Plant is a small plant with only 20 workers or so. It was formerly a bridge building plant. It has no material, equipment or technology to cope with such tasks. Most of its workers are carpenters and young apprentices engaged in building bridges. The difficulties they faced would be enormous. At that time, some people said sarcastically: "What a dream for a small suburban factory to want to produce a ball grinder!" But ignoring this, the workers said, "Lin Piao wanted to restore the old order, but we must march forward and dare to break through." Learning and working and helped by fraternal units, they at last manufactured a ball grinder. This enabled the cement plant to be completed in triumph. At present, it is producing 20,000 tons of cement annually. Since last year, it has produced more than 10,000 tons, thus rendering support to water conservancy and road-bridge building. Meanwhile, in the hsien the foundry of an agricultural machinery plant has been converted into a small iron and steel mill with an annual capacity of several thousand tons of steel. The material foundation has been laid for the realization of the program.

To mobilize all trades and occupations to help realize the agricultural development program, it is imperative to foster the concept of "wholeheartedly serving agriculture" and "aiding agriculture for the sake of revolution." Since the start of mass discussions on "further increasing agricultural production" in 1972, an education on taking agriculture as the foundation has been carried on in industrial, communications, capital construction and commercial enterprises and among the broad masses of people throughout the hsien. They have raised their consciousness of aiding agriculture and looked upon the realization of the hsien-wide agricultural development plan as a common undertaking. Everywhere--from factories run at hsien, commune and brigade levels to various service trades and from big to small towns--one sees the encouraging sign that "men and

women, young and old, are vying with each other in aiding agriculture." Building high- and stable-yield fields calls for large quantities of organic manures. Apart from hog manure and household manure, urban garbage and the silt of the Suchou river are also good organic manures. However, these manures cannot be brought in without boats. Workers of the shipyard in Chiating hsien, tapping various potentials, produced more cement boats and silt-sucking boats outside state plans to support the communes and brigades in obtaining more manures. Last year, they built an additional 300 cement boats. To realize mechanization and electrification in plant protection is a fighting goal in the agricultural development program. In Ch'enghsiang chen an "artisan" cooperative of repairmen consists of workers originally engaged in the trades of repairing clocks and watches, making bicycles, making shoes, and engraving. They had never produced farm machines and tools before. However, "not to be outdone in the matter of supporting agriculture," they took it as their own fighting task to supply the needs of the poor and lower-middle peasants. Last year, they successfully trial-produced high-pressure electric insect-killing lamps, which are popular among the poor and lower-middle peasants. This year, to meet seasonal requirements, they have produced 1,400 such lamps in a little more than one month through technical innovation. These lamps have been sent to the farms. Commercial undertakings in cities and towns as well as residents have also swung into action. They have not only delivered manures to the farms but helped them in various other ways. During the peak farming seasons, some food and drink shops provide refreshments in the fields. Some barbers, bringing their gear with them, go to the rural areas and work for the commune members during their breaks. A foodstuff store in Ant'ing chen sets up a "sick hog ward" giving treatment to sick hogs. Over the past year or so, 246 sick hogs have been treated, and they have now become fat hogs. Imbued with a stronger concept of taking agriculture as the foundation, the vast masses of all trades and occupations have formed a formidable force, creating favorable conditions for the materialization of the hsien-wide agricultural development program.

To arouse the enthusiasm of all trades and occupations in a joint struggle to realize the program, it is also essential to concentrate forces to fight battles of annihilation and insure pivotal projects. It is impossible to "do a hundred things at the same time." Only thus can we make maximum use of limited human, material and financial resources. Since the program was put into practice last year, the hsien has encountered this problem: Since construction is undertaken in all quarters, how should the limited supplies be allocated? Later, a joint consultation was held among various departments, and this threw light on the entire situation. Comrades of the departments concerned voluntarily proposed that in the next year or two effort should be made to reduce non-productive expenses to the minimum so as to insure completion of a few key projects in the hsien. "Now that we have a hen, we don't have to worry about eggs." For instance, in setting up a cement plant, we must first of all have cement. With everyone united in thinking, cement was saved in every way to insure the needs of building the cement plant. In launching farmland irrigation projects, building roads and bridges and other projects, they organized the human, material and financial resources according to plan and on the

basis of established priorities, so as to put these resources to more fruitful use.

Look Far Ahead and Work Realistically

Chairman Mao says, "The masses have boundless creative power. They can organize themselves and concentrate on places and branches of work where they can give full play to their energy; they can concentrate on production in breadth and depth and found more and more undertakings for their own well-being." A long-range program has made the broad revolutionary masses in Chiating see the beautiful prospects of a new socialist countryside. They recalled the first few years after liberation when, under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, they struggled against the landlords and worked on agricultural cooperativization. In 1956, Chiating hsien also set a long-range plan, with the following goal: "A thousand catties of grain, and a hundred catties of cotton"; "Rivers rumble and chimneys emerge in the fields." In those days the annual grain output was only 700-800 catties per mow and cotton only 30 catties. There was little agricultural machinery. However, the drafting of a program made the masses see the future prospects and work harder than before. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, through the formation of people's communes and especially after the great proletarian cultural revolution, they have turned their ideals into reality and achieved so much more. Now, amid the high tide of the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, Chiating's poor and lower-middle peasants again set themselves still higher goals. The great future of socialism and communism is driving people to march onward; it has inspired the poor and lower-middle peasants of Chiating hsien in going from one victory to another.

Seeing the beautiful prospects fills us with strength. From the historical experience the poor and lower-middle peasants in Chiating have learned that to make the beautiful prospects a reality, it is necessary to exert still greater revolutionary efforts and to begin right now. When one attends only to immediate needs without long-range ideals, one would become short-sighted and at times even lose one's bearings; but if one has a long-range objective without attending to the immediate needs, one would not achieve the objective in the long run. Their slogan is: Think of the future and do our work now, and do everything to make our dream come true. At the moment, under the excellent situation marked by the deepening of the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, the broad masses of people in the hsien, while talking about their long-range prospects and laying plans, are vigorously doing preparatory work for water conservation construction in the coming winter and spring. On the other hand, they are striving to reap a bumper autumn harvest. This year the early rice ripened late, so seasonal work has been tense, farm jobs have been concentrated and heavy. Displaying the revolutionary spirit of arduous struggle, they have been working hard day and night. They are racing against time to have the late rice transplanted in more or less the same period as previous years. They did not halt when the battle "to plant, plow and harvest" was over. In the middle and late August, unusually low temperature affected the resumption of growth of the rice seedlings. The poor and lower-middle peasants

raised the slogan, "Help them grow, and not wait for them to grow." They applied additional manures to the fields early, carefully raked the fields, and used a sufficient amount of water in an effort to help the rice seedling grow properly. To prepare an adequate amount of basic fertilizers for next year's summer crops, the whole hsien is involved in an upsurge of collecting and making fertilizer. The various communes and brigades have generally started to work on this earlier than last year. By late August, No. 11 Yungsheng team of Hsihsing commune, No. 2 Tengt'a brigade of Chuch'iao commune and others had already stored adequate basic manures for the wheat crops and rape. While tending the fields, Hsinching brigade of Ant'ing commune has whipped up a mass upsurge in accumulating manure, having collected more than 45,000 tan by early September.

Chairman Mao says, "New things always have to experience difficulties and setbacks as they grow. It is sheer fantasy to imagine that the cause of socialism is all plain sailing and that success can be gained easily without difficulties and setbacks or the exertion of tremendous efforts." Drafting the long-term program and plans for its implementation entails struggle. On the road of advance we may still encounter difficulties of one kind or another. Chiating hsien's poor and lower-middle peasants have said rightly: "Now that we have a great goal, we won't bend even if Mount T'ai weighs on us." They are convinced that under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and through self-reliance and hard struggle, they will certainly turn the beautiful prospects into shining reality. These wishes of the 460,000 revolutionary people of Chiating will surely come true.

- By Our Own Reporter

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The 1974-1980 Agricultural Development Program of Chiating Hsien (Revised Draft)

- Drawn up August 1973, revised August 1974

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 9, Sept. 20, 1974)

The great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius have greatly whipped up the socialist enthusiasm of the poor and lower-middle peasants and given an impetus to agricultural production and other work in Chiating hsien. Annual per-mow output of grain (in 1973) was 1,593 catties, a 35 percent increase over 1965 and almost double the "Program" target. Besides, substantial progress has also been made in forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fishery. But the brisk development of socialist revolution and construction has also confronted us with new, higher demands. Their consciousness of class struggle and two-line struggle and of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat further enhanced, the broad masses of commune members are working harder with a stronger desire to build up a socialist new countryside. This calls for an advanced and practicable long-term development program providing common targets for all poor and lower-middle peasants and other revolutionary people throughout the hsien.

The current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is both deepening and broadening in a sustained manner. The situation goes on improving. The three-level collective economy of people's communes is growing stronger, and the dictatorship of the proletariat is more consolidated than ever. We have accumulated a rich fund of new experiences in developing socialist agriculture and carrying out socialist rural work. So long as we keep to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and fully rely on the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and the revolutionary cadres, it will be entirely possible for us to turn long-term prospects into short-term ones and accelerate the building of a socialist new countryside.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Overall planning, a few inspections and year-end evaluations -- these are three important methods." With a view to enabling the poor and lower-middle peasants and the cadres across the hsien to better grasp the general and particular conditions, to promptly summing up experience, developing the achievements and correcting mistakes, to encouraging one and all to advance bravely, to learning in a more proper way the experience of Hsiyang hsien and more extensively and intensively developing the "in agriculture, learn from Tachai" movement, and, above all, to building Chiating into a socialist new hsien modelled on Tachai, we have drawn up this seven-year program.

(1) Further consolidate and develop the collective economy of the people's commune.

Consolidating and developing the collective economy of the people's commune is fundamental to developing the rural productive forces. The 19 people's communes in the hsien should be enabled to further consolidate and develop themselves during the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. One, it is necessary to correctly enforce the basic system of "three-level ownership with the production team as the base" for the people's communes at the present stage and to actively bring into play the role of the collective economy at the commune and brigade levels in promoting the development of the collective economy at the production team level. Two, it is necessary to persist in putting politics in command, constantly carry out education in socialism, criticize capitalist tendencies, and continuously raise the socialist consciousness of cadres and commune members, so that they will firmly and unswervingly take the socialist road toward common prosperity. Three, it is necessary to firmly adhere to the principle of socialist distribution of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," and to resist the influence of the revisionist line of "work points in command."

(2) Strive to increase the output of grain, cotton, oil-bearing crops and other farm produce.

By 1980, average annual output of grain per mow will reach 2,000 catties, a 26 percent increase over 1973's 1,593 catties; average per-mow output of ginned cotton will reach 200 catties, a 83 percent increase over 1973's 109 catties; average per-mow output of rapeseeds will reach 330 catties, a 197 percent increase over 1973's 111 catties. By 1975, annual output of grain, cotton and rape is to reach 1,800, 150 and 300 catties respectively, to show a 50 percent increase over the planned targets in two years. Within seven years, the State is to be supplied with 420 million catties of commodity grain, 1.45 million tan of ginned cotton and 50 million catties of rapeseeds. Vegetables are to be great in variety and fine in quality, with a balanced supply to the market. Vigorous efforts must also be made to boost the output of other farm produce.

(3) Actively develop sideline production with emphasis on hog breeding.

By 1980, the number of live hogs will reach 760,000 head, an average of 1.5 hogs to each mow of land and a 23 percent increase over 1973. The market is to be supplied with 330,000 hogs for pork, with each head weighing an average of 160 catties. Some 80,000 tan of fresh-water and sea products will be harvested, a 82 percent increase over 1973's 43,900 tan. Mushrooms will be grown in 3 million square feet, with the average output per square foot increasing to 1.5 catties as against 1973's 0.94 catty. Meanwhile, greater progress is also to be made in the raising of domestic fowls and animals including chickens, ducks, sheep, rabbits and milch cows and in other side-occupations. By 1980, gross income from side-occupations will reach 78 million yuan, a 69 percent increase over 1973. The hsien must also run breeding farms well in order to provide the commune and brigades with fine breeding animals.

(4) Carry out tree planting well.

Prior to 1980, trees should have been planted in all available space around houses and villages and beside roads and waterways. Fruit trees and medicinal herbs should be planted in addition to timber trees. Livestock farms of communes, brigades and production teams should make use of empty space to grow grape, pear and other fruit trees, so that they may also be orchards. Good attention should be paid to growing 15 million saplings with emphasis on pine saplings, and production teams should have bases for cultivating saplings, so that by 1980, the hsien will have 20 million trees planted under good management. Bamboo grooves should be given better care and renewed periodically.

(5) Achieve a systematic network of farmland water conservation projects.

Water conservation construction should be continued to attain the goal that drought will not be brought by a 100-day dry spell and waterlogging will not be caused by a six-inch downpour of rain. Further actions should be taken to perfect the three major water systems of the Liu Suchou and Yuntsaopin rivers and to widen and dredge the major rivers in the hsien including the West Yuntsaopin, Yent'ieh, Yunch'angching, T'aop'u and P'uhuat'ang rivers, totalling 74.5 kilometers in length. This will involve the digging of 5,050,000 cubic mters of earth and rocks. In the coming winter and spring, some sections of P'uhuat'ang and T'aop'u rivers will be widened and dredged, involving some 1,400,000 cubic meters of earth and rocks. In order to increase the capacity to store water, mitigate floods and drain away rainwater, five sluice gates are to be built on the East and West Yuntsaopin, Mutuchisng and T'aop'u rivers respectively. For farmland water conservancy a network should be formed of waterways and roads and be coordinated with drainage and irrigation systems in the fields and with mechanized farming so as to round up water conservation projects to suit farm mechanization. Each plot of farmland should be irrigated and drained "independently" so that irrigation and drainage of one plot may not affect that of another. A deep well covering some 2,000 mow of irrigated land land should be gradually converted into one covering from 1,000 to 1,500 mow of land, and equipped with diesel engines so that irrigation can be carried out in time of war when power supply is interrupted.

(6) Level the land and practice garden farming.

To achieve high and stable yields, it is necessary to go on levelling the upland, transforming lowland and readjusting flower plots in accordance with local conditions, so as to gradually merge the fields of varying sizes and at different levels into rectangular plots of specified sizes. This will be conducive to drainage and irrigation, mechanized operations, growing paddy and dryland crops on rotation and scientific farming. In 1975, the hsien should strive in the main to introduce gardening on 20 to 25 percent of its farmland. Thereafter, each year, an additional 20 percent of land will be affected by garden farming so as to fulfill ahead of schedule the planned targets.

(7) Increase the collection of organic manure and raise the level of manure application.

In order to make per-mow grain output exceed 2,000 catties, it is necessary, on the basis of successful experiences derived from experimental fields, to improve the soil and to accumulate natural manure by all possible means: 1, Raise hogs to accumulate manure; 2, grow green manure crops, utilize fertile mud, gather wild plants, and ferment manure; 3, transport nightsoil, garbage and other miscellaneous manures from cities. This will gradually make it possible to dress each mow of land with organic manure equal to 100 tan of pig or sheep dung each year. Meanwhile, appropriate measures should be taken to increase application of chemical fertilizer, vigorously popularize bacterial fertilizer, improve the method of applying fertilizer, and enhance the effect of fertilizer. All production teams should build pools for storing urine and nightsoil, increase the stock of fertilizer, and take necessary measures to preserve ammonia and prevent its evaporation.

(8) Actively multiply and popularize fine strains.

With regard to seeds, the policy of "selection, multiplication, reserve and use by oneself" to be "supplemented by outside supply" must be implemented. The hsien should make further efforts to improve the management of the fine strain multiplication farm and open a new seed base. Communes and brigades must run their seed farms or seed teams well so as to gradually build up their stock of seeds. Production teams must manage their seed beds efficiently. New conditions and new features arising from farm mechanization and the three-cropping system should be taken into consideration in purposefully cultivating and popularizing fine strains giving high yields, with continuous efforts made to replace existing strains with new strains which ripen early, are resistant to plant disease, fine in quality and high in yield. The work of purifying and rejuvenating existing strains must be strengthened so as to obtain a new strain of cotton by the second generation, fine strains of first-rate paddy rice and wheat, and new strains of oil-bearing crops.

(9) Prevent, cure and eliminate diseases and insect pests.

Efforts must be made to eliminate and control in the main the major insect pests and diseases seriously endangering farm crops, such as armyworms, rice borers, pink weevils, cotton boll worms, red spiders, aphides, bacterial diseases, red rust, streaking, rice blast and red smut. Meanwhile, attention should be paid to preventing the spread of other plant diseases and insect pests. An effort must be made to improve and consolidate the plant protection contingents at the hsien, commune, brigade and production team levels and to strengthen forecasting and inspection, so as to have mass forecasting and treatment and strict control of diseases and pests and raise the effects of prevention and cure. Efforts must be made to spread the use of highly effective and low-toxic insecticides and biological prevention and cure.

(10) Energetically unfold mass scientific experimental activities in agriculture.

Full scope must be given to the active role of the hsien-operated technical extention centers, seed stations, plant protection and inspection centers, livestock breeding and veterinary centers, meteorological stations and other agricultural science departments must be brought into play. The hsien's survey office must carry out survey and test activities with regard to soil fertility and chemical fertilizer. Efforts must be made to consolidate and improve commune-run scientific experimental stations and brigade-run scientific experiment central groups. Production teams should set up and improve their own scientific experimental groups and personnel in charge of cultivation, water supply, plant protection and seeds. Three-in-one combination of cadres, old peasants and technicians must be effected, and a success must be made of the experimental fields, high-yield fields and seed beds. Commune members should be encouraged and supported to display their initiative, to popularize production-increase experience in light of local conditions, and to seek out the laws of high and stable yields.

(11) Further increase the level of farm mechanization.

Mechanization should be basically achieved in the principal aspects of work from sowing to harvesting of grain, cotton, rape and other farm crops. Vigorous efforts must be made to improve the quality of farming machines and scientific research in agricultural machinery must be carried out actively. Mechanized operations of deep plowing and deep furrowing, accumulation, transportation and application of manure, transplanting and pulling of seedlings, harvesting and weeding must be tackled with emphasis, while the level of mechanization in plowing, plant protection and land or water-borne transportation must be further raised. Meanwhile, mechanization in vegetable growing, livestock breeding and marine production must be realized step by step. By 1980, with regard to principal farm machines and tools, each production team will have an average of 1½ small tractors, 1½ seedling transplanters (complemented by seedling pullers), one harvester, one weeder, one tiller, one furrowing machine, one sprayer, one winnowing machine, and one small hoisting machine. On the average every brigade will have two medium-sized tractors, three dredging boats and two small tug-boats, with some having heavy-duty trucks. Each commune will have an average of two large tug-boats, 22 medium-sized tractors and 10 heavy-duty trucks. Farm machines of all kinds should be complete with needed parts and used for a variety of purposes.

As the number of farm machines increases, the hsien, communes and brigades must establish and improve corresponding farm machine administrative organs with rational rules and regulations. Farm machines must be properly kept and used to raise their efficiency as well as to insure safety in operation. Meanwhile, a good job must be done of farm machine part supply and training technicians.

(12) Coordinate the use of farm machines with that of roads, bridges and canals.

Farm machine paths should be built and pedestrian paths adjusted so as to form an economical and practical traffic network in the countryside. Each production team should have its roads linked with those of other production teams, and the farm machines should move around without encroaching on the farmland. 703 tractor bridges are to be built to form a network of farm mechanized operations step by step. Coordinated with the building of tractor roads, open canals are to go underground. 1,350 kilometers of underground channels are to be properly laid, so that farm machines run over the ground and water flows under the surface.

(13) Develop and improve the rural power network.

More than 670 kilometers of power lines (representing 50 percent of the total) are to be adjusted. Meanwhile, an additional 500 kilometers of lines are to be laid. By 1980, the installation and connection load will reach 129,500 kilowatts (actual power supply load 64,750 kilowatts), a 54 percent increase over 1973. Each brigade will be allotted a capacity of 225 kilovolt amperes. In order to balance hsien-wide power load and tension, two transformer stations will be built at Yuch'iao of Huat'ing commune and Fengpin commune respectively. Transformer stations at Nanhsiang, Chiatinghsimen and Waik'ang will be expanded.

(14) Raise draft cattle well and bring the role of small farm tools into full play.

While developing farm mechanization, draft cattle are to be raised and multiplied on the basis of war preparations serious efforts must be made to manufacture, supply and maintain small farm tools made of bamboo, wood or iron.

(15) Develop industries at hsien, commune and brigade levels in a planned way.

In the direction of serving agriculture, 13 "five-small" plants--including an iron and steel works, a chemical fertilizer plant, a cement plant, a shipbuilding plant, a farm machine plant, a machine tools plant and an oxygen plant--will be expanded. On the basis of reorganization and consolidation, commune- and brigade-run industries will be developed in a planned way, and the proportion of their output value will be raised in the gross revenues of the three levels. More help will be given to communes and brigades with a weak industrial base in developing their industries and strengthening their collective economy. Further efforts should be made to readjust, reinforce and improve the three-level farm machine building networks, so that some major overhauls can be done in the commune and medium and minor repairs made in the brigade. Communes and brigades should be encouraged to produce indigenous chemical fertilizer and insecticide and to actively develop bacterial fertilizer. Brigades must further improve the work of masons, bambooware makers, carpenters, barbers and tailors so as to give conveniences to commune members and benefit production.

By 1980, the three-level gross industrial output value in the hsien will reach 400 million yuan, a 60 percent increase over 1973. Annual output of principal materials will, by around 1977, include: 5,000 tons of steel, 80,000 tons of cement and 300 million bricks. Of industrial funds accumulated at the commune and brigade levels, the commune is to devote 50 percent and the brigade 60 percent to agricultural mechanization and farmland capital construction.

(16) Run the communes with diligence and frugality and improve operations and management.

The collective economy at the commune and brigade levels must make full use of available manpower and equipment, make overall arrangements for manpower, improve labor organization and business management, increase labor productivity, and economize on manpower and material resources wherever posssible. The masses must be relied on to manage financial affairs democratically, to strengthen economic accounting, to combat the practice of extravagance and waste, and to do more at lower costs. Farm costs should go down by about 25 percent in areas where grain and cotton are grown, by about 30 percent in paddy areas and by about 20 percent in vegetable growing areas.

(17) Increase grain reserves.

By 1980, production teams across the hsien will have more than 290 million catties of collective reserve grain, a 3.4 times increase over 1973, sufficient for rural consumption in the hsien for 14 months.

Economical use of grain should be publicized to make cadres and commune members use grain in a planned way and economically. Every household should do its best to keep some grain in reserve.

(18) Gradually improve the commune members' material life.

By 1980, the average income from collective distribution for every commune member will be increased to about 230 yuan from 1973's 177 yuan. Old, dispersed housing estates will be rebuilt by stages, and new villages and estates will be built. Commune members' houses will be repaired or new ones built for them by stages and groups. Production of man-made marsh gas will be actively encouraged and coordinated with construction of disinfected septic tanks. By 1980, one-fifth of the commune members will have moved to new housing estates supplied with artificial marsh gas. Defense facilities should be built in conjunction with the building of new housing estates for commune members.

(19) Develop communications, transportation and postal and telecommunication services.

Full use should be made of the maritime transportation network. Shipping should be developed. River courses should be harnessed and dredged in conjunction with water conservation engineering projects. Steps

should be taken to gradually improve the construction of highway networks to meet the needs of farm mechanization and development of communications and transportation. Eight highway sections totalling 62 kilometers in length should be built. They include: the section linking T'anghang and Hut'ai Road via Huat'ing; the section linking Wanghsin and Ant'ing railway station through Bridge No. 7 on Wai-an Road; section extending from Ch'ienmen to "May 7" Kiln in the north; the section from Chuch'iao to Bamboo Brigade; the section from Chuch'iao to Ch'ienmen via Kolung; the west section of Kuang-an Road (from Fangt'ai to Ant'ing railway station); the section from Lout'ang to Lutu linking up with Hut'ai Road; and the section linking Hsinmuch'iao and Ts'ao-an Road via Chanpin, Kuangan Road and Chungch'ap'u Bridge.

Further efforts should be made to develop postal and telecommunication services, gradually achieve automation of telephone operations, install telecommunication cables, achieve wireless communications and mechanize postal deliveries.

(20) Further improve rural financial and commercial work.

The poor and lower-middle peasants are to be relied on to run well rural credit cooperatives and to actively develop credit, settlement and savings services. The communes and brigades should be helped to manage their financial affairs well, to take good care and make good use of their funds and to make overall arrangements for the use of financial resources.

Hsien- and commune-operated commercial departments must turn to the countryside and serve production, do well in supplying the means of production and livelihood and in purchasing farm and subsidiary produce. They must make overall plans for materials. The poor and lower-middle peasants should be relied on to run and manage commerce properly. Those brigades which are far away from townships should set up or expand comprehensive purchase and marketing agencies, so as to do a good job of supplying means of production and livelihood and purchasing small bulks of farm and subsidiary produce and used materials. The masses should be relied on to improve market management.

(21) Rebuild cities and townships in a planned way.

The work of cities and townships must implement the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation. All trades and occupations must orient themselves to the countryside, get familiar with and support agriculture. Meanwhile, it is necessary to improve water supply and drainage for production and livelihood in cities and townships. The "three wastes" must be controlled in a down-to-earth manner and rational arrangements made for tree planting in public places and in the neighborhoods. Overall arrangements should be made for commercial networks and points and for cultural, educational, public health, sports and security facilities. A number of public cultural centers and workers dormitories

should be built in order to meet the needs of development of production and population growth.

(22) Develop education.

We should rely on the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants in managing schools well, and train laborers with socialist consciousness and culture. The hsien should operate well the four intermediate technical schools of agricultural technology, industrial technology, finance and accounting, and public health. A commune should have one spare-time agrotechnical school and introduce universal secondary education. Middle schools should offer full courses on farm production and farm machinery. Brigade-run schools should set up kindergartens. Efforts must be made to eliminate illiteracy among young and middle-aged people.

(23) Consolidate and expand the socialist cultural ground in the countryside.

On the basis of connecting every household with wired broadcasting, broadcasting in the fields should be developed, with lines readjusted or repaired. Television sets should be made available to production teams. Brigades should set up cultural rooms (including libraries) and spare-time literary and art propaganda teams besides unfolding rural sports activities. Communes must further improve the operation of movie projection teams and cultural stations so as to activate rural cultural life and let Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought dominate the cultural positions.

(24) Further develop the revolution in public health.

With schistosomiasis basically eliminated, persistent efforts should be made to consolidate and improve work in this connection. Positive efforts should be made to carry out the patriotic health movement in order to make everyone health and sanitation conscious. A large group of production teams should be enabled to reach the level of "sanitary village." The "four kinds of pests" (rats, bedbugs, flies and mosquitoes) should be basically wiped out. In the countryside, steps should be taken to insure that every household drinks from well, that the human excreta of every household are stored in cesspools, and that the disinfectant septic tanks are well looked after. It is necessary to go on consolidating the brigade's cooperative medical service system, to gradually enlarge collective contributions toward medical expenses and to reduce funds contributed by commune members. Brigades should set up public health centers and production teams set up clinics. Barefoot doctors should be trained according to plan, and medicinal herbs should be properly grown and picked. Disease prevention and control should be developed by combining Chinese traditional medicine with Western medicine, so that common and recurrent diseases can be cured without having to send the patients out of the production teams for treatment.

Health insurance for woman and child must be made a success. Production teams must run their nurseries well. Health work for women commune members during "four periods" (menstruation, pregnancy, maternity and breast-feeding) should be done realistically.

(25) Late marriages and family planning should be encouraged.

Propaganda should continue on the significance of late marriages and family planning. The ranks of pharmacists should be well managed. Commune members should be urged consciously to set plans for late marriages and family planning. It is required that by 1980 the birth rate will remain at about eleven per thousand.

(26) Continue to look after educated youths settling down in mountainous and rural areas.

Warm concern should be shown for these youths, who should be given practical help in properly solving such problems as food grain, housing and medical service. Education and training of these youths should be stepped up, with conditions created for them in studying politics, culture and science and technology. Their enthusiasm for building a socialist new countryside should be fully exploited. Telling blows must be dealt to the class enemies' criminal activities undermining the movement of settling educated youth in mountainous and rural areas.

(27) Train a contingent of Marxist theorists.

Activists in revolutionary mass criticism who have emerged during the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius are to be organized to form a mighty contingent of theorists not detached from production. These theorists will be required to be "instructors in political evening schools, correspondents for newspapers and broadcasting stations, propagandists for the implementation of policies, and combatants against revisionism." Works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao are to be studied systematically in close conjunction with the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. Education on socialism should be constantly conducted and revolutionary mass criticism unfolded. Lin Piao's revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius should be criticized. The struggle between the two classes and two roads in the countryside should be launched in depth and old ideas, old culture, old habits and old customs of the exploiting classes boycotted. Political evening schools must be run well with emphasis on political and theoretical studies while cultural and technical subjects are also studied.

(28) Step up militia building.

In strict accordance with the principle of "integrating labor with military training," effort is to be made to consolidate and develop militia units organizationally, politically and militarily. Maintenance of law and order, fire prevention and militia work must be carried out in "trinity." In this way, militiamen, besides doing security work,may take

an active part in class struggle in society, strengthen their concept of class struggle and combat preparedness, heighten their political consciousness, and improve their military skills. Thus in ordinary times they can safeguard production and supervise and transform the four kinds of bad elements; in wartime, they can coordinate with the People's Liberation Army in wiping out the invading enemy.

(29) Strengthen the Party's ideological and organizational building.

Insisting on the three basic principles "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split, be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire," we should strengthen Party building. It is necessary to step up the education on Party history and perfect the system of Party organizational life. We should develop new Party members in a planned way. Party groups should be set up in most of the production teams. Under the Party's centralized leadership, it is imperative to bring into full play the role of such organizations as the revolutionary committee, the trade union, the poor peasants association, the women's organization, the Communist Youth League and the militia.

Leading groups at all levels must adhere to the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young, and vigorously train new cadres and women cadres in accordance with the five requirements set by Chairman Mao for training successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. The hsien's "May 7" cadre schools and classes for training worker-peasant cadres on rotation must be run well, and a good job must be done in training basic-level cadres on rotation. Cadres at the hsien, commune and other levels must perseveringly adhere to the system requiring their participation in collective productive labor and strive to fulfill and overfulfill the labor quotas laid down in the "Revised Draft of Work Regulations Governing Rural People's Communes."

(30) Examine the results of execution of the program.

Organizations at all levels of the people's communes, various bureaus and townships and the enterprises and units under them should, proceeding from their actual conditions, draw up their own plans of development, so that the higher and lower levels may work in harmony, units at the same level may work cooperatively, and the distant and immediate prospects may be combined together.

The results of execution of the program and of annual implementation plans are to be examined annually at a cadres conference attended by representatives of poor and lower-middle peasants to be called around the spring festival. The experiences shall be summed up and weak links found. The program may continue to be revised so as to insure its fulfillment.

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On Li Ssu

by

Wang Shao-p'u (王少普) and Li Ch'ang-ch'ing (李长青)

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Contributing immensely toward the brilliant and unparalleled historical achievements credited to Ch'in Shih Huang was Li Ssu, Legalist representative of the newly rising landlord class, who had actively participated in Ch'in Shih Huang's empire building cause. He was outspoken and acted with equal forthrightness. His views on political, cultural and military affairs glittered with the radiance of Legalist philosophy. In assisting Ch'in Shih Huang to formulate and implement a correct line, a line which upheld advance and unification and opposed retrogression and division, he had played a significant and momentous role in establishing in Chinese history the first feudal empire of centralized power. After the death of Ch'in Shih Huang, Li Ssu experienced struggles against the restorationist forces represented by Chao Kao. His life came to a tragic end when finally he was brutally murdered. Li Ssu emerged from the fierce struggles between the newly rising landlord class and the slave-owning class. The political strivings he had gone through had direct links with the Confucian-Legalist struggle on the ideological front at that time. Different appraisals of Li Ssu's life and times likewise serve as reflections of the Confucian-Legalist struggle. The Confucianists viciously attacked him for his part in the "burning of Confucian Classics and institution of harsh laws and decrees -- acts which brought disaster to the empire." Legalist thinkers, however, praised him for being Ch'in Shih Huang's "meritorious statesman and capable minister." They had unbounded sympathy for his tragic end. "When it became known that Li Ssu was slain, an atmosphere of gloom prevailed; people who were gathering around wept in a spirit that touched Heaven." However, in view of the limitations of the landlord and bourgeois classes it would not be possible for them to correctly appraise Li Ssu's life and times. Only by applying the viewpoint of historical and dialectical materialism can we correctly examine his merits and demerits and sum up the experience of class struggle including that of the Confucian-Legalist struggle.

Li Ssu was born in the state of Ch'u. He came of the lower strata of the landlord class. He studied Legalist doctrines with Han Fei from Hsün K'uang. As the political representative of the landlord class, he was keenly aware of the historical trend whereby the slave system would be replaced by the feudal system and divisions give way to unification. He sensed that this would give him an excellent opportunity to perform merit for the newly rising landlord class and alter his own social status. He viewed the state of Ch'in after the introduction of the Shang Yang reform and the establishment of the landlord class government as being "strong enough to abolish the principalities, establish an empire and unite the whole country" (this and other unattributed sources are from Historical Records -- Biography of Li Ssu). Since in any aspect the

state of Ch'in was superior to the six states to the east, it became the most hopeful state at the time to accomplish the feudal unification undertaking. The class consciousness of the landlord class and Ch'in's access to favorable conditions prompted Li Ssu to leave the state of Ch'u, where reforms toward feudal practices had been far less thoroughgoing, for the state of Ch'in.

The newly rising landlord class was then the dominant class in Ch'in, although the struggle between the slave-owner class and the landlord class continued to prevail. Slave-owning patriarchal nobles operating within the Ch'in government tried in every possible way to topple the newly rising landlord class and restore the dictatorship of the slave owners. To combat this force seeking a return to the old order, Ch'in rulers from Duke Hsiao to Ch'in Shih Huang had successively employed large numbers of "wandering politicians" or "foreigners in official positions" (客卿), that is, those representatives of the newly rising landlord class whose positions in the other states became untenable. To the former patriarchal nobles in the state of Ch'in these people were a thorn in their flesh which must be removed at any cost and by whatever means at their disposal. Among these "politicians," however, there were Confucianists like Lu Pu-wei and Chun Yu-yueh who had attempted to worm their way into the Ch'in political structure and break the landlord class dictatorship from within the state of Ch'in. This attempted restoration by the Lu Pu-wei group was smashed by Ch'in Shih Huang in the same year that Lu Pu-wei had recruited a large number of Confucian scholars from the six neighboring states. As one of Lu Pu-wei's retainers, Li Ssu was naturally expelled by Ch'in Shih Huang. In his Memorial on the Expulsion of Foreigners Li Ssu pointed out that "foreigners" should be scrutinized concretely and should not be summarily excluded regardless of their individual circumstances. He cited facts recorded in history about the immense contributions made by Legalists from other states, such as Shang Yang and Fan Sui to prove that "foreigners" should be treated differently in the light of different circumstances. If all "foreigners" were to be expelled "regardless of whether they are acceptable and justified or not," this would amount to providing an enemy country with troops and supplies and "bringing harm to the people and benefit to the enemy." Li Ssu's strong argument refuting the false accusations hurled by the slave-owning nobles at the "foreigners" had Ch'in Shih Huang's firm backing. An imperial decree forthwith rescinded the expulsion order and promoted Li Ssu to court official. This shattered the conspiracy of the slave-owning nobles to exclude the Legalists.

Li Ssu emerged from the landlord class as a representative figure in the process of opposing the slave-owner class and establishing a feudal empire of centralized power. In this unifying process Li Ssu in the main assisted Ch'in Shih Huang in planning, formulating and implementing the unification scheme. He also assisted Ch'in Shih Huang to institute and put into practice tactics of strategic attack, such as "subjugating Han first to intimidate the other states." (Historical Records -- Biography of Ch'in Shih Huang) He also launched powerful political offensives and employed the "stratagem of alienating the rulers from their ministers" and

the tactics of "befriending distant states and attacking neighboring kingdoms." (Historical Records -- Biography of Ch'in Shih Huang) After ten years of warfare to annex neighboring states, Ch'in Shih Huang in the year 221 B.C. succeeded in swallowing up the last of his rivals and uniting all of China under his rule.

"The replacement of one social system by another is a complex and protracted process of revolution." (Stalin, Talk with British Writer H.G. Wells) The unification of all of China by Ch'in Shih Huang in no way signaled the consolidation of the landlord class government. Whether to enforce the prefectural system based on strong centralization of power or to restore the slave system based on feudal ranks and privileges posed a major problem to Ch'in Shih Huang following the unification of the empire. Which course after all was to be taken? Ch'in Shih Huang thereupon called a full court meeting to discuss the matter. Prime Minister Wang Wan immediately sprang out and clamored for the revival of the system of giving fiefs and privileges because he represented the interests of the slave-owning nobles in a vain attempt to roll the wheel of history back. "All the ministers approved." (Historical Records -- Biography of Ch'in Shih Huang) Only Li Ssu disapproved. He severely refuted those who had acquiesced. Citing the historical lesson drawn from the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods, he pointed out incisively that giving fiefs to the vassals would constitute a regressive step, this being the root-cause of internal turmoil because the principalities "set on each other." He said, "Now thanks to Your Majesty's divine might, all lands within the four seas have become your provinces and counties. Setting up fiefdoms would offer no good solution." (Historical Records -- Biography of Ch'in Shih Huang) Profiting from historical experience Ch'in Shih Huang realized that "since we have pacified all under heaven setting up new states would mean establishing armies, and then peace and quiet would be hard to secure." (Historical Records -- Biography of Ch'in Shih Huang) He therefore stood firmly behind Li Ssu and rejected Wang Wan's views. He also dismissed Wang Wan from office and promoted Li Ssu to be the prime minister. Resolutely and decisively he abolished the system of giving fiefs to the former nobles, instituted the prefectural system and established a feudal empire based on autocracy and centralization of state authority. In these moves Li Ssu's merit was second only to that of Ch'in Shih Huang, his meritorious contributions being beyond the reach of all others. Commenting on the prefectural system, Li Chih of the Ming period said aptly: "Opening up paths between fields and setting up prefectures and counties were timely measures taken by outstanding statesmen and ministers; they could in no way be altered even if sages reappeared."

Following the founding of the unified Ch'in empire based on the centralization of power, the slave-owning nobles as a class had in the main been toppled. But the people comprising this class were still around, they had not given up and would continue to struggle and put up a last-ditch fight. If the resistance of these nobles was not put down at the time, the landlord class rule could not be consolidated.

At a dinner party given by Ch'in Shih Huang for his ministers at his palace in Hsienyang in the year 213 B.C. Chun Yu-yueh, a reactionary Confucian hidden in the Ch'in court, sprang out to openly attack Ch'in Shih Huang's Legalist policy of lauding the present and deprecating the past. "Using the past to condemn the present," he flagrantly called for restoration of the slave system of the Yin-Chou period. The reactionary scholar's challenge exasperated Li Ssu who sternly refuted Chun's utterances and adopted severe measures to suppress Confucian devotees according to laws and decrees banning the operation of private schools so "none throughout the land would use the past to condemn the present." Ch'in Shih Huang accepted Li Ssu's proposal and ordered the "burning of books and burying alive of Confucian scholars." This sweeping measure dealt stunning blows to the restorationist activities of the slave-owning nobles and reactionary Confucianists. It resulted in the exercise of landlord class dictatorship in the ideological sphere, as was demonstrated in the "clarification of laws and fixing of rules and decrees" and "learning from officials." This revolutionary action was excellent. "Without burning the 'Six Arts' there was no way to honor the new ruler."* "As the inevitable outcome of the discussions of the warring states, the unprecedented calamity befalling the Confucian scholars should in no way be attributed to Prime Minister Li and it was Ch'in Shih Huang who did that."** Since the restorationist forces of the slave owners at the time became exceedingly rampant, nothing short of that could establish the revolutionary authority of the newly rising landlord class, hit at the rampant resurgence of the restorationist forces and consolidate the rule of the newly rising landlord class. In the struggle to "honor the new ruler" and consolidate the newly emerging feudal system, Li Ssu demonstrated his outstanding qualities of statesmanship as the principal assistant to Ch'in Shih Huang.

As a landlord class statesman who had gone through Legalist-oriented practices and struggles, Li Ssu was better equipped to implement Ch'in Shih Huang's Legalist line. In the struggle to found the Ch'in empire and establish the landlord class government based on the centralization of state authority, he assisted Ch'in Shih Huang to unite all of China. He also participated in the formulation of systems and policies toward consolidation of national unification and strengthening of centralization of state authority as well as measures designed to oppose retrogression and revival of the system of giving fiefs to the nobles. Li Ssu not only put forward constructive views of prime importance but also put his views into practice. For instance, he wrote an article outlining steps to unify the Chinese written language and accompanied Ch'in Shih Huang in inspection tours throughout the land to consolidate the Ch'in empire. In resisting the Huns and encroachments made by the slave-owning nobles of Eastern Hu, Li Ssu had played a significant part. He was also involved in stone inscriptions made at the time when Ch'in Shih Huang was traveling east through his provinces and counties. A stone monument was erected at Mount Tai with this inscription by Li Ssu: "The Sovereign Emperor came to the throne, made decrees and laws which all his subjects heeded," "His obedient subjects remember his achievements, trace them from the start and celebrate his virtue." "The sage emperor who has pacified all

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* Chang Ping-lin, "Notes on Ch'in's Contributions"

** Li Chih, " Notes on Later Ch'in, General Review of History"

under heaven is tireless in his rule. ... His will is obeyed and his orders will remain through eternity." (Historical Records -- Biography of Ch'in Shih Huang) This stone inscription demonstrated Li Ssu's admiration for and exaltation of Ch'in Shih Huang. It also revealed his determination to carry out Ch'in Shih Huang's Legalist line and policies and his will to uphold the feudal system based on the centralization of state authority. As a landlord class statesman, Li Ssu was in a position to adhere to the stand of the newly rising landlord class, pursue the Legalist line and contribute significantly toward establishing the first landlord class government based on the centralization of power.

However, handicapped by class limitations Li Ssu failed to realize the importance of mobilizing all available resources of the landlord class and channeling them into the process of consolidating the feudal system. On several occasions he had falsely accused Han Fei, an outstanding Legalist, with the result that the latter lost his life. This was the biggest mistake Li Ssu had ever made. Although the theories expounded by Han Fei were to a large extent put into actual practice at a later period by Ch'in Shih Huang and Li Ssu, Han Fei met death through the machinations of Li Ssu. This was a loss to the entire cause of the landlord class.

After the death of Ch'in Shih Huang the landlord class government of centralized power, then far from being consolidated, was faced with an acid test. The landlord class government in the state of Ch'in evolved from a direct transfer from the slave-owner administration, a changeover process from the top to the lower echelons, a changeover in which one system of exploitation replaced another. Political power seized by simple means from the hands of the slave-owning class was not powerful enough to smash the old state machine. This enabled the slave-owning class to wield and exert fairly strong influence on the newly established landlord class rule. While Ch'in Shih Huang had resolutely combated this restorationist force, due to class limitations Ch'in Shih Huang's dictatorship over the reactionaries was far from all-encompassing. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "In any previous revolution except for the replacement of the primitive commune system by the slave system which involved the substitution of one system of exploitation for a non-exploiting system, the rest had as its end the replacement of one system of exploitation by another. They neither had the necessity nor the feasibility to undertake a thorough suppression of a counter-revolution." Ch'in united all of China but the restorationist forces of the former nobles of the six states remained fairly strong. Throughout the empire there were hidden restoration plotters of the six states who were dissatisfied with Ch'in rule. They attempted to regain their lost paradise and pinned their hopes on the "Emperor Ch'in Shih Huang's death and division of the land" (Historical Records -- Biography of Ch'in Shih Huang), preparatory to turning their restoration hopes into restoration actions. This restoration activity thus became the main danger to the Ch'in rule.

Since the Ch'in court was the first landlord class government of centralized power it lacked the historical experience of struggling against the restorationist forces of the slave-owning nobles. At the same time the landlord class, feeling pleased at what it had achieved after the seizure of political power, was inclined to compromise with the old forces. This tendency was particularly evident among those political representatives who had acquired larger shares of vested interests. After the death of Ch'in Shih Huang the newly rising landlord class entrenched in the Ch'in court therefore displayed marked signs of weakness in its struggle against the restorationist forces of the slave-owning class. The former group even permitted the latter group to sneak into government organizations and usurp important positions. This development was nowhere better illustrated than in the struggle between Li Ssu and Chao Kao, representative of the restorationist forces of the slave owners.

Chao Kao, a former noble in the state of Chao, was a schemer and careerist of the declining slave-owning class, a dyed-in-the-wool Confucianist. After Ch'in unified the six states he was "bitter about Ch'in's conquest of his country and vowed vengeance." He thus became engrossed in schemes for restoration. Since the establishment of a unified feudal empire based on the centralization of state authority was in keeping with the general trend and appealed to popular aspirations, any idea about an open revolt would not work. He therefore "resorted to self-castration as a means to gain access" to the top-level leadership group of the landlord class. Pretending to be a Legalist adherent, he "served Prince Hu-hai in a private capacity" and became his teacher. He then waited for the opportunity to usurp supreme powers. At the outset Ch'in Shih Huang was not unaware of Chao Kao's counter-revolutionary intentions and once instructed Meng I to charge Chao Kao with "major crimes" and ordered him to "mete out punishment according to law." He was even ready to have Chao Kao beheaded on the basis of the laws of the land. However, Chao Kao resorted to double-dealing tricks by feigning "devotion to duty" and won Ch'in Shih Huang's confidence through deceit. He was finally given "pardon." (Historical Records -- Biography of Meng Tien)

Ch'in Shih Huang fell ill at Shachiu during one of his inspection trips. He entrusted Chao Kao to deliver a letter under the imperial seal to Prince Fu-su to come for the funeral. But Ch'in Shih Huang died soon afterward, leaving the sealed letter in the hands of Chao Kao. Taking advantage of Ch'in Shih Huang's sudden demise, Chao Kao conspired to make Hu-hai Crown Prince so he could succeed to the throne. He talked Hu-hai into believing the historical precedents about "T'ang and Wu who killed their rulers" and about "Wei Chun who killed his father." He claimed that the latter's patricidal deed was known to Confucius, who did not consider the act "unfilial." As Ch'in Shih Huang's 18th child, Hu-hai had not taken part in his father's empire-building drive to suppress the restorationist forces of the slave owners and therefore was spared from the crucible of class struggle. In conspiring to put Hu-hai on the throne, Chao Kao aimed at using him as a puppet so he could usurp the supreme powers of the landlord class state and fully restore the slave-

owning class. To hasten the restoration plot, Chao Kao did his best to disguise Hu-hai as the "true sovereign" on the basis of the Confucian interpretation of the reactionary theory of "Heavenly mandate." He spread the word round that the "power and fate of the empire rests solely on Hu-hai" in an attempt to create counter-revolutionary public opinion in favor of restoration.

When Chao Kao was plotting a counter-revolutionary coup, Li Ssu, then holding supreme administrative powers of the state, was the only person who could have exposed and stopped Chao Kao's restoration attempt. However, after assisting Ch'in Shih Huang to establish a feudal empire of centralized power, Li Ssu's political and economic status underwent changes. To keep his "exalted" position he showed signs of vacillation at the very outset on the question of coping with Chao Kao's attempted usurpation of power. His conciliation and yielding fully exposed the conciliatory nature and vulnerability of the landlord class and encouraged Chao Kao to apply pressure and offer inducements to win Li Ssu over to his side, such as telling him: "If you follow my plans you will receive favors generation after generation;" otherwise, "misfortune and calamity would befall your offspring and this could be most chilling to you." At the same time Chao Kao spread rumors about the possibility of having Li Ssu replaced by Meng Tien to undermine the relations between the two and break the leadership core of the landlord class government which was formed during the reign of Ch'in Shih Huang. Chao Kao's alternate use of soft and tough tactics proved that Li Ssu was self-centered and vulnerable to high pressures. He tried to stoop in order to accomplish something by doing the best thing possible under the circumstances. But he failed to realize this approach would not work in dealing with Chao Kao, a vicious schemer who had masterminded a counter-revolutionary coup. Li Ssu thus accommodated himself to Chao Kao's restoration plot. Taking advantage of Li Ssu's vulnerability, Chao Kao succeeded in covering up his ambitious attempt at usurping supreme powers and forced Li Ssu to conspire with him to put Hu-hai on the throne. Li Ssu agreed and Hu-hai succeeded to the throne as the Second Emperor.

Hu-hai's ascent to power signaled the resurgence of the restorationist forces of the slave owners represented by Chao Kao.

After the coup Chao Kao adopted the Confucianist line in place of the Legalist line. He hastily changed the Legalist policies of protecting the newly rising landlord class and hitting at the slave-owning class implemented during the reign of Ch'in Shih Huang, and returned to the reactionary policy of reinstating the declining slave-owning aristocrats, "winning over the rest of the subjects, ennobling the humble and enriching the poor." Furthermore, Chao Kao brutally carried out massive purges and frantically went ahead with class retaliation. In addition to rejecting and putting to death a large number of officials employed by Ch'in Shih Huang to enforce the Legalist line, he "removed all the trusted ministers of the former emperor" and "put to death a host of people to pay off old scores." The dependents of those slave-owning nobles known to Chao Kao were given official appointments.

Meng I and his brother who were credited with meritorious services during the reign of Ch'in Shih Huang and who demanded that Chao Kao be "punished according to law" were tragically put to death by order of Chao Kao who "hurled invectives day and night" at the two brothers in front of Hu-hai. (Historical Records -- Biography of Meng Tian) The junior prime minister Ch'ü Chi and General Feng Chieh were both driven to suicide. In the wave of wanton slaughtering initiated by Chao Kao, almost all the Legalists employed during the reign of Ch'in Shih Huang were uprooted. By then the restorationist forces of the slave owners had become so blatant that it was on the verge of wiping out at one stroke the newly rising landlord class.

Political restoration invariably led to economic regression. Chao Kao persuaded Hu-hai to "indulge in sensuous pleasures and spiritual delights" and used this as a pretext for increasing taxes and imposing forced labor on government service. This and other regressive measures forced large numbers of peasants to leave their fields, causing damage to the feudal agricultural economy and subjecting countless peasants for long years to the "bitter burden of garrison duty and transport service." (Historical Records -- Biography of Ch'in Shih Huang) Hu-hai's foolish preoccupation with the completion of Afang Palace before work on Mount Li was finished stepped up the exploitation and oppression of the peasants to the point of banishing those who resisted to Lu Tao for garrison duty. Even the barbarous burial system abolished during the reign of Duke Hsien of Ch'in was revived by the Second Emperor. Because of the unpopular and perverse measures adopted by Chao Kao, the peasants had in reality lost their newly won rights -- "to a certain degree the right to regulate themselves" -- and once again became slaves "with no right whatever and hardly can be considered as human beings." (Lenin, On State)

The criminal act of restoring the slave system in which Chao Kao had played a leading part intensified his conflict with the peasantry and aggravated the contradictions between the landlord class and the restorationist forces of the slave owners. With the princes and senior ministers becoming growingly suspicious of Chao Kao's restoration plot, Chao Kao himself likewise became worried about possible opposition and demands for change. As the laws and decrees formulated by Chao Kao and Hu-hai became harsher and harsher and punishment meted out to the offenders more and more severe, the ministers became apprehensive of their own safety. On the other hand, the peasantry and the newly rising landlord class proceeded from different class interests and this factor prompted them to fiercely resist Chao Kao's attempt at restoring the slave system. Ch'en Sheng and Wu Kuang rose in revolt to raise the curtain on the spectacular peasant uprising and war toward the end of the Ch'in period. The remnant forces of the declining slave-owning class in different sectors of the empire likewise took advantage of the confused situation to make trouble. "Stronger contenders began to consolidate their positions and establish themselves as barons and princes." These forces did their best to restore the fiefdoms set up under the slave system. Thus the Ch'in court unified on the basis of centralization of state authority was in grave jeopardy.

The serious crisis arising from the restoration attempt of the slave owners deeply perturbed Li Ssu, a landlord class statesman. More than once he remonstrated with the Second Emperor of Ch'in and advised him to change the policies that had worked to the disadvantage of the landlord class. But Hu-hai was under the influence of Chao Kao so he turned a deaf ear to these remonstrances. The muddle-headed ruler even eloquently defended his case and asked Li Ssu pointedly: "What else could I do if it is my wish to enjoy a long rule without causing harm to my subjects?" What a big muddle Hu-hai was in! Realizing that his remonstrances would be of no avail, Li Ssu submitted a memorial On Exercising Heavy Censure to Hu-hai. Outwardly, he accommodated Hu-hai's desires and indulgences so "he can enjoy himself to the utmost." But obliquely he reminded Hu-hai of the danger of letting power slip out of his hands, in the hope that he would "employ the technique of censure" and "practice the intelligent methods of Shen Pu-hai and Han Fei and apply the system of censure according to the laws of Lord Shang." Li Ssu in effect was urging Hu-hai to recover ruling powers from the hands of Chao Kao and "exercise alone the craft of the ruler, whereby he keeps his obedient ministers under control and his clear laws in effect." By acting on his own decisions, Hu-hai would be able to subdue the restorationist forces of the slave owners and bring peace to all under heaven. Li Ssu's memorial to Hu-hai was subtlely phrased and presented with elaborate discretion. It reflected his strong aversion to Chao Kao's restoration move and betrayed his great anxiety. It also revealed his last desperate effort to pull the Ch'in empire through a grave crisis, explaining that Li Ssu after all was vigorously trying to take over Ch'in Shih Huang's Legalist line.

The contention between Li Ssu and Chao Kao was a reflection of the life-and-death struggle between the landlord class and the slave-owning class. For the sake of all-encompassing cause of the landlord class, Li Ssu had to try his best to fight on. But the situation on the whole was virtually hopeless. If in his earlier memorial to the First Emperor of Ch'in proposing the burning of the Confucian Classics he had in his command a powerful force directed at the restorationist forces of the slave owners and their Confucian following, then in his memorial to the Second Emperor of Ch'in he could only obliquely attack the restorationist forces of the slave owners represented by Chao Kao, who was at that time at the height of his power. This shows that the landlord class at the time was powerless to smash the Chao Kao coup. Therefore, his memorial to Hu-hai not only failed to raise his guard vis-a-vis Chao Kao but instead made him feel he was justified in indulging in extravagances and wanton killings. Thereupon, "those who tax the people heavily and kill them wantonly are considered intelligent officials and loyal ministers." At the sight of the bloody rule of the slave owners, exemplified by the "gathering of law-enforcers and piling up of corpses in the street," Hu-hai remarked: "This is a good way to restrain and admonish."

In these circumstances the forces representing the newly rising landlord class in the imperial court were gradually curbed as Chao Kao had completely cut off Hu-hai's ties with his ministers. With Chao Kao alone

in control of state affairs, the Ch'in court was reduced to a hollow skeleton by the restorationist forces represented by Chao Kao. The conflict between the government and the peasantry smoldered and soon reached the boiling point, with the peasants who were well off during the reign of Ch'in Shih Huang becoming "common people living in fear." (Historical Records -- Biography of Ch'in Shih Huang) The latter in their plight deeply sensed the enormous hardships and misfortunes brought on by restoration. They perceived that the landlord class no longer possessed the potential to oppose restoration so they themselves agitated for revolt since the "opponents are in control of half the empire." Only peasants' revolutionary struggles could provide the main force for stemming restoration of the slave system. Under the telling blows of the peasant uprising led by Ch'en Sheng and Wu Kuang, the decadent and enfeebled Ch'in court was on the verge of collapse. This promoted the development of class struggle within the imperial court in a more intensified and complex form.

After succeeding in usurping the supreme powers through Li Ssu, who had displayed signs of weakness and conciliation in opposing the restorationist forces, Chao Kao was not "benevolent" toward Li Ssu. He falsely accused Li Ssu of having secretly aligned himself with the peasant insurgents and put him in jail. Li Ssu at once exposed Chao Kao's counter-revolutionary features and condemned him for his abuse of power. He pointed out incisively: That is why the "opponents are in control of half the empire." This was the result of Hu-hai having listened to Chao Kao by "condemning and sentencing his loyal ministers to death." In his memorial to Hu-hai he mentioned his meritorious contributions when he was serving under the First Emperor of Ch'in in pursuing the Legalist line for more than 30 years. But he failed to impress Hu-hai for "it was too late" (in Ssuma Ch'ien's words). The overwhelming predominance of the Chao Kao restorationist forces in the Ch'in imperial court was such that it was much too late for Li Ssu to prevent the royal house from collapsing through unmasking Chao Kao. Li Ssu's memorial to the emperor was seized by Chao Kao. In the name of Hu-hai Chao Kao put Li Ssu to death after he was tortured. All his clan was wiped out.

Not long after Li Ssu's death Chao Kao put the puppet Hu-hai to death, toppling the first landlord class rule based on the centralization of power. This representative of slave-owning nobles of the six states who had wormed his way into the Ch'in imperial court thus eventually achieved his sinister aim of "putting to death the descendants of the House of Ch'in and destroy their empire." Because of its limitations the landlord class was not able to prevent the restoration of the slave owners.

But the advance of the historical tide is irresistible for the people will not permit the restorationist forces to spread unchecked. The historical task of opposing restoration fell on the shoulders of tens of millions of revolutionary peasants. Chao Kao's reactionary rule was toppled by the major peasant uprising led by Ch'en Sheng. The peasant insurgent army entered Hsienyang and toppled the Ch'in imperial court.

The destruction of Ch'in was followed by the rise of the landlord class represented by Liu Pang, who took over Ch'in Shih Huang's Legalist line and uprooted the restorationist forces of the slave owners represented by Hsiang Yu. In the fierce flames of class struggle Liu Pang established the rule of the newly rising landlord class in the wake of the fruits won by the peasant uprising. Later the Han empire was founded along the lines of Ch'in institutions, a continuation and development of the empire-building cause pioneered by Ch'in Shih Huang after spiraling and tortuous processes.

Li Ssu was not the only one to be blamed for his failure to block with vigor and determination the restoration moves of the slave owners represented by Chao Kao after the death of Ch'in Shih Huang and subsequent collapse of the Ch'in dynasty as a result of usurpation of supreme powers by Chao Kao and his alteration of the Legalist line espoused by the landlord class. This is one proof of the limitations of the landlord class and its inability to prevent singlehandedly the restoration attempts of the slave owners. In this respect Li Ssu erred to be sure, but he was essentially different from Chao Kao. Li Chih put it rightly: "Li Ssu was a dragon, Chao Kao a worm." As a statesman of the newly rising landlord class, Li Ssu in the historical perspective was credited with merits that were greater than his demerits. On the other hand, Chao Kao was the most dangerous enemy of the newly rising landlord class and the Legalists. The history of restoration and counter-restoration during the Ch'in period tells us: "No revolution in history could rest on its laurels after its initial success." (Lenin, The Achievements and Difficulties of the Soviet Government) The collapse of Ch'in thus provides us with profound historical experience in our understanding of the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration. It illustrates that the efforts of several generations of people are required in a revolution which professes to replace one exploitation system by another. To triumph over the struggle against restoration the landlord class must necessarily implement a Legalist line and firmly oppose the Confucian line. Failing to do so would invite the danger of restoration and regression. In the case of having the old system replaced by the new one, the wheel of history must invariably move on. This is irresistible for any force identified with the reactionaries. The Chao Kao coup collapsed after a lapse of three years, proving forcefully that a new social system is bound to triumph in the course of struggle, and that this is an objective law independent of man's will.

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